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# OBSERVATIONS IN EUROPE

## SUMMER OF 1919

*By* Worth M. Tippy

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT
OF NORTH AMERICA

45 West 18th Street New York City

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*Superintendent, Division of Service, Department of Industrial Relations; Executive Secretary, Commission on the Church and Social Service*

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Price, 10 cents each, $1.00
per dozen, $8.00 per hundred.

# FOREWORD

THE DECISION to send a commission to Europe to study after-war conditions in England and on the Continent, and to inquire into the thinking and plans of the churches in the face of the radical movement, was determined upon unexpectedly at a meeting of the Cabinet of the Interchurch World Movement in Columbus, Ohio, the first week in July, 1919. The instructions given were for the commissioners to study independently with a limited amount of cooperation, to work quietly without public statements, and to report separately. The committee was not therefore under complete unified direction. Mr. McGill gave his attention mainly to the cooperative movement. Mr. Gold concentrated on Germany, hoping also to get into Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, but was ultimately disappointed in getting into these last two countries. Mr. McGill had hoped to reach Poland and Russia but did not succeed. Mr. Tippy confined his studies to Great Britain, Holland, France and Belgium. Each member of the commission was in the four countries last mentioned and the commission as a whole attended the Trade Union Congress in Amsterdam. Mr. Gold and Mr. Tippy attended the conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship at The Hague at the request of the American branch of the Alliance.

The members of the commission were aware that they were going to Europe at an unfavorable time. August is a holiday month in England, and on the Continent many leaders of churches and officials of governments are in Switzerland or by the sea. But it was necessary to go in July in order to return in time for the organization of the Industrial Relations campaign in America in the autumn, and it was hoped that enough people could be seen to get at the facts desired. In this the commission was not disappointed.

Members of the commission were also much hampered by war-time restrictions upon travel which were still in force. It was necessary to go to police stations both upon entering and leaving a city. It was required that passports should be viséd by the consulate of one's own country and that to which one journeyed—in most instances it was necessary to take one's turn in long queues and usually fees were required. These restrictions became vexatious when it was necessary to travel rapidly from place to place.

The committee regretted the shortness of the time for the necessarily extensive inquiries to be made. The life of the countries visited is on a large scale and highly complicated, and one might study to advantage for months on a restricted inquiry. For example, the entire time of one representative might well have been spent on the social organization of the Protestant churches of England. Probably a more thorough division of labor, and a more careful coordination of the work of the commission would have brought better results. Much, however, is to be said for the methods which the commission pursued. Each commissioner brought back impressions from the entire field and their findings will have therefore a corrective value each upon the other.

# OBSERVATIONS IN EUROPE

## ITINERARY

SAILING from New York on the S. S. *Noordam* on Wednesday, July 16, 1919, the commissioners landed at Plymouth, Saturday morning, July 26, and traveled together via London, Folkstone and Flushing to Amsterdam. The better part of three days was spent in London getting necessary visés and police registration.

The commission spent the larger part of a week together at the International Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam and The Hague and with religious leaders of Holland. Here they separated, Mr. Gold and Mr. McGill traveled to Germany via Paris, and returned to England. Henceforth this narrative deals only with my own movements and studies.

## TRADE UNION CONGRESS, AMSTERDAM

The Trade Union Congress was the first since the outbreak of the war, and the consciousness of the long struggle with its animosities and divisions caused a certain tension and embarrassment. It early became necessary for the German delegation to express condemnation of what Germany had done in Belgium, especially to Belgian workingmen, before the congress could proceed. This they did in a manner which satisfied the delegates from France and Belgium.

Speaking broadly, the congress, with the exception of the Americans and two syndicalist groups, was moderate socialist, strongly against bolshevism but pronouncedly socialist. The English delegation was more conservative than the continental, but much more radical than the American, but generally speaking the English and Americans acted together while the continental representatives formed a natural bloc; except that elections and in matters related to the war, the allied representatives formed a solid front.

In spite of vigorous opposition by Mr. Gompers and his associates, the Congress voted for the lifting of the Russian blockade, for the socialization of industries in the several countries, and against participation in the Washington Labor Conference unless the representatives of all nations were admitted, and unless labor were given at least two delegates out of the four allowed to each country.

It was quite clear from the sessions of this congress and from many interviews with delegates, that the left wing of extreme socialists constitute only an aggressive minority in each country with but the remotest likelihood of getting into power. The conditions of previous repression and general illiteracy, of excessive losses in battle, underfeeding, and general breakdown of the military and civil authorities which obtained in Russia, are not likely to obtain in any other country. In Germany socialization has not as yet gone far, and is mainly a political reorganization on democratic principles. Industry and agriculture are still in private hands as they were before the war, but under greater public control. Works Committees are being established in factories under government sanction, and wealth is being socialized to a larger extent by taxation. In Russia itself the Soviet Republic is being profoundly modified, and if left to itself it was the judgment of the German delegates that it would finally approximate the German position. They have long since learned in Russia, we were told, that factories are not successfully run by committees of workingmen. The community soviet now appoints the managers of plants, and the workingmen's representatives have become like a Whitley Works Committee. Subsequent studies in Belgium, England and France confirmed these opinions.

The eight-hour day has been established in Germany by the Revolution but not without the opposition of employers. Herr Spiecher, chairman of the German delegation, expressed their point of view at The Hague Conference in October, when he said that eight hours were too few for anybody to work, including directors of industry like himself. The French delegates had rumors that Germany would return to the nine-hour day, and they raised the question in open congress, but they were assured by their German colleagues that this was not true, and that they need have no anxiety in the matter.

## HOLLAND

Holland is almost solidly capitalistic because of the ownership of land in small holdings, and because of the Dutch character, which is thrifty, solid and dominated by centuries of trading. Here we came upon Christian trade unions, organized because the regular unions are Marxian socialist and hostile to the church. The statistics are interesting: regular unions, 285,000; Protestant unions, 45,000; Catholic unions, 150,000; syndicalists, 45,000; neutrals, 40,000. The neutrals are opposed to political action and follow the lead of American labor. Neither the Christian bodies nor the neutral were allowed representation in the Amsterdam congress. Our commission was of the opinion that any extension of Christian unionism would tend only to divide the labor movement and is highly undesirable. We found the more experienced churchmen of Holland of the same opinion.

The churches in Holland are but in the beginnings of federated and socialized action. Only a very few churches have parish houses. They devote themselves to teaching and evangelism, but have almost no direct community relations or club activities, and very little that corresponds to the advanced church work of the United States. Professor Pont of Amsterdam is striving for a federation of churches; and men like Professor R. Slotemaker de Bruine of The Hague are agitating for parish houses, community work and contacts with labor. The Netherland churches, however, are socially minded in another way. They have as many as fifty child-caring institutions and extensive work for the aged and poor, cared for mainly by deaconess associations. Many church leaders recognize the need for the community church, especially in industrial populations, and the importance of a socialized theology.

## ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Thursday to Saturday, August 7-9, I spent in London. Arrangements were made to visit the headquarters of the Miners' Federation at Ayr on Wednesday of the following week. On the afternoon of Thursday Mr. James Brown, M. P. of Ayr, secretary of the Scottish mineworkers, and Mr. John Robertson, M. P., acting president, granted an audience in the lobby of Parliament and arranged for a seat in the special gallery on the floor of the House of Commons, where I listened to the discussions and heard a statement by Mr. Lloyd George on the Premier's leadership of the House and on the Irish settlement. On Friday I had an extended conference with Mr. G. D. H. Cole, secretary of the Labor Research Department, formerly of the Fabian Society, who is doing important research and publication work for the British labor movement. He furnished valuable information about the social movement in England which gave me my bearings for subsequent investigations.

## WEEK-END AT STRATFORD

Finding that little could be done in England at week-ends, I left London Saturday noon and spent Sunday and parts of Saturday and Monday quietly at Stratford-upon-Avon. Here I came unexpectedly upon the Midsummer Shakespeare Festival, and also upon crowds of English people taking their first holiday since the war. It was difficult to get lodgings, and I risked sleeping in the open to see "A Midsummer Night's Dream" in the Memorial Theatre on Saturday night.

I shall always be grateful for this week-end at Stratford. There is a note of unreality in much American Shakespearian criticism, due largely to the Baconian controversy, which has caused the poet to seem a half mythical person like Homer. In Stratford this is manifestly absurd. One meets the

real poet everywhere. His love for the home of his boyhood and youth was so strong that he made frequent pilgrimages from London to Stratford by way of Oxford, and retired there early for permanent residence. His prosperity is evidenced by the amount of real estate which he owned in and around Stratford, and by his thoughtfulness for his father's family; and his contemporary fame is shown not only by abundant references in the writings of his friends and literary associates, but by the fact that he was buried within the chancel of Trinity, which has the appearance of a cathedral. The nature world of the plays—the trees, flowers, bird life, scenic atmosphere—is manifestly Stratfordian. One realized this most in the presentation of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." It was the real midsummer night of the play, and as one walked in the garden along the Avon during the intermission, the night outside seemed a part of the play. A full moon shone over the little river through a warm haze, and boat lanterns moved silently here and there in the semi-darkness, while the laughter and singing of invisible young people floated over the gardens.

Another fact which became apparent at Stratford and later in the week in Scotland, is that Britishers make more of their holidays and have simpler, happier and less expensive pleasures than we have yet learned in America. I found them walking bare-headed and merrily along the country roads, up the hills of the Doon Valley, along the sea west of Ayr, having family picnic dinners in the open, bicycling, golfing, boating, and drinking tea at little inns. It became apparent after one had been about a great deal in England why it is that the British workman with a lower wage than the American, yet lives a better and more happy life on the whole; and how Great Britain, with her energies cramped by traditions, yet with a simpler and on the whole more wholesome way of living, keeps her place in the world. The race is not necessarily to the nation which produces most, but as well to that which knows best how to live.

## A VISIT TO MR. SMILLIE'S HOME

Sunday night I left for Glasgow, and on Tuesday went out to Larkshall hoping to meet Mr. Smillie, president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who had gone home for a brief vacation. He had been called unexpectedly to London to a meeting of the executives of the Triple Alliance, which consists of the miners, the transport workers and the railway workers, and instead of seeing him then I had a fortunate afternoon with his family. The Smillies live in a little stone cottage which is one of a continuous row of miners' houses with common dividing walls. Originally with two rooms, they like their neighbors have built on additional rooms and a bath. The miners have acquired these houses by a system of building and loans among

themselves. I noticed pictures of Lowell and Holmes on the wall. Two of Mr. Smillie's sons were in the war and two were conscientious objectors, while Mr. Smillie himself was openly against the war. This illustrates the democracy of the family. Mrs. Smillie is a mother of the type that has made America strong, and she is devoted also to her husband and his work.

The family have a pew at Trinity United Free Church. I learned from them that not over half of the miners' children are under religious instruction, and this was confirmed later by the pastor of the Smillie household, Mr. Borland. Yet I could not discover at Larkshall or elsewhere that the churches were seriously disturbed by the fact, or that they were taking steps to reach these families. It was also apparent that the churches here and elsewhere in Scotland are not organized with the idea of reaching working people. They desire them and care for them, but have not taken the special thought which is necessary to reach them. Their cultural plane is so far above the workers, the theology which is preached is so unrelated to the struggle of the masses, and the strong churches are so placed in the better residence districts that it is impossible to shepherd the workers and their families in any adequate way under existing conditions. In these matters they are not so different from the churches in other countries, including our own.

In a conference with some of the pastors at Ayr, splendid men all of them, these impressions were confirmed. In a copy of the report of the United Free Church Assembly, which was given me and which I studied carefully, I came across these significant words of the moderator: "The ancient symbols and embodiments of piety have declined in authority, and over great breadths of our population Christianity is no longer in possession . . . and even within the church there are masses of people who no longer look to her teaching for guidance in thought and duty. This with all it involves, we must frankly confess."

I was troubled also about the relations of Mr. Smillie to his church. Here is one of the great men of England who although an extremist yet holds a position of enormous responsibility and influence, and who is singularly devoted to the welfare of the workers and their families. If he were a liberal or conservative statesman or a great coal owner, he would be honored by the local church in every possible manner, and yet he is largely estranged and not adequately recognized. One could not but conjecture what influence a warm sympathy, recognition and an earnest effort to assist him in his arduous work might have upon his spirit and upon the army of labor which he directs.

## WITH THE SCOTTISH MINEWORKERS

The next three days were spent with the Scottish mineworkers at Ayr, attending the sessions, listening to debates and making as little trouble as

possible. Mrs. Smillie came down and I had the privilege of sitting with her. The fact that I had come so far became known, and aroused a manifest interest and sympathy, and every courtesy was shown to me. On Friday the executives, including Mr. Smillie, took me with them on a seventy-mile pleasure ride into Ayrshire along the sea. I was also invited to join them on their picnic to the home of Burns at Alloway.

This experience at Ayr led me to realize that for the church to show an interest in these conventions and congresses of the workers, is important in itself. I called the attention of the pastors at Ayr to the fact that I had come so far to attend the mineworkers' convention, but that they were scarcely aware of its presence; and they agreed with me that if they could have recognized the convention formally, and if they could have joined in some manner in its entertainment, as was done by the cooperative society, it would have been not only a gracious but a significant thing to do.

One day Mr. John Robertson, president of the Scottish mineworkers, and I walked together from Ayr to Alloway and I then learned that he had been a lay preacher of the Free Church of Scotland in earlier years. Mr. Robertson said one significant thing to me on this walk, to the effect that when the workers have won leisure and economic independence, they will degenerate if the higher or spiritual interests are not attended to. I realized strongly then what I had felt at Larkshall, that masses of people have no spiritual shepherds except their labor leaders; that these leaders are too occupied to give these higher interests serious attention nor are they trained for such responsibilities; that ministers of the Church of Christ, if they can be brought to realize the problem, will stand beside these leaders of the people, concentrating their own energies mainly on the spiritual and cultural welfare of the masses, but interested also in improving their economic and political status. It will not be difficult to find a way to do this in any country, once the church is aroused to its opportunity. It is inconceivable that Christ would allow the existing situation to continue.

During the trip on Friday I had a walk by the sea with Mr. Smillie. We talked mostly of Lincoln, by whom he has been profoundly influenced. He wanted to know whether Mr. Drinkwater's play, "Lincoln," which is running at the Gaiety Theatre in London, is true to Lincoln, and whether or not Lincoln was accustomed to compromise his ideals in practical politics. His impression was that Lincoln would not, and clearly Mr. Smillie has made up his mind to an uncompromising policy for himself.

I asked Mr. Smillie a question which I put again and again to labor leaders—what is the real place of the church in the struggle for the welfare of the workers? After we had discussed the question in its bearings he gave

the same answer which I received everywhere: "Let the church join with all its power in the fight for the people. The church as an organization cannot be expected to take partizan positions in political and economic movements, nor will it be asked to do so if it exerts its great influence for the masses."

Mr. Smillie is the leader in England of direct action, that is, the power of the strike to force parliamentary action, the general strike and the lightning strike. In these matters I found myself finally diverging from his point of view. I think that just as in the railroad strike in England in September, a national strike will array the rest of the nation against labor, and will force the nation to use its every resource in self-defense. If the men win, democratic government is overcome. If they lose, a legacy of bitterness is left behind. Such measures should be used only in a cause so manifestly right as to carry public opinion, and then as a last resort. I was disturbed by the constant reference to these weapons in the miners' convention, and the apparent willingness to use them on what appeared to be comparatively trivial causes; but in the single-mindedness of his devotion to the families of the miners, in his unselfishness, in his courage, I came away from England feeling that I had met no more Christ-like man in Great Britain than the miners' executive.

I have spoken at length about Mr. Smillie because of the importance of his leadership in England. The Scottish mineworkers' representatives were a unit for nationalization of the mines. They expressed resolutions of sympathy for the Russian Soviet Republic and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Russia. The need of new housing was well to the front. They were irritated by the delay in the government housing program, and asked for four-room single houses, with bath and garden. They want new houses, not old ones rebuilt, and object to the use of army huts on the ground that they will be retained long after they should have been abandoned. These demands are typical of British labor sentiment.

## MERFIELD AND LETCHWORTH

Leaving Ayr on Friday evening I returned to London by way of Leeds, and spent a part of Sunday with the Community of the Resurrection in Merfield. The community was founded by Bishop Westcott, and Bishop Gore is one of its fellowship. Father H. C. Windley kept me to lunch and gave me every opportunity to understand and see the community. I went to Merfield, a manufacturing city near Leeds, because the religious community in that place is an important experiment in Christian life and service, and because I hoped that it might offer a possible solution for some phases of church work in congested areas in American cities, especially in reducing the heavy costs involved if we are really to have a sufficient number of

churches of the right type to meet the needs of our industrial populations. One must confess, however, that it seemed to throw little light upon American conditions, except that it may be possible for the workers in these centers to effect economies by living on a community basis, in buildings erected when such churches are founded or when an existing church is rebuilt and reorganized.

Returning to London on Monday, the 18th of August, and finding clergymen and church officials, whom I desired to see, away on their vacations, I decided to leave for Belgium and France on Wednesday. Tuesday evening I was taken by Dr. Dugald MacFadyen, Secretary of Interchange of Preachers and Speakers between the Churches of America, Great Britain and France, to his home in Letchworth for the night, and we studied together that interesting experiment in London housing, built about factories taken into the country; and also his plans for a memorial town of like character to commemorate the tri-centenary of the landing of the *Mayflower.*

The plan of Letchworth is admirable and wholly to the good so far as it is able to go, but it will scarcely touch the immense housing problem of great centers like London. That must be solved within the metropolis itself in the form of standard dwellings, breathing places, play centers, cheap and rapid transportation at rush hours, sanitary streets, abatement of smoke and dust, and access to the country. But everything that can be done to take the people into suburbs is to the good. The location of factories outside of cities is especially important.

## BELGIUM

On Thursday I spent the night at Canterbury with Mr. Charles H. Fahs of the Missionary Research Library, New York, and on Thursday went into Belgium by way of Folkstone and Ostend to Brussels. The train passed a great army supply depot and ammunition dumps near Deal, and as the ship entered the harbor at Ostend the wrecked cruiser *Vindictive* filled with cement lay partly across the channel. Masts and hulls of sunken destroyers and other ships lay outside the harbor. Summer people had come back to the resort and children were making merry in the sands, but the absence of men was noticeable. The railroad terminals, canal and railroad bridges and street viaducts over the railroad, had been wrecked by the departing German army. It was sickening to observe the twisted rails, shattered brick and masonry, damaged engines and coaches and ruined houses near where culverts had been blown up. Great numbers of Belgians were working to clear the debris and reconstruct ruined structures, but it will be a long and expensive task. A series of tracks on a new road-bed have been built nearly to Bruges while the elevated road-bed is being repaired. Most of the rolling stock was

German, brought to Belgium in return for that carried away, but the Belgians complained that poorer engines, coaches and trucks had been sent from Germany to replace those stolen.

Belgium is in better condition than any of the war areas on the Continent in spite of its losses. The war debt is not so heavy as in France, England and Italy, and there is plenty of food and less unemployment than in some countries. Outside the devastated areas in Flanders, the land is fully and carefully cultivated, in spite of the fact that livestock and implements were carried away and that much of the cultivation must be by hand.

## LOOTING OF BELGIAN FACTORIES

The worst economic outrage on Belgium was the systematic looting of the country, especially of the factories. I spent a day at Liége under arrangement with the Belgian government. The great steel plants at Liége, an industrial area comparable to the Mahoning Valley in Ohio, had been dismantled. Blast furnaces, traveling cranes, rail mills, plate mills, lathes, drills, hammers, punches, engines and rolling stock had either been carried to Germany or listed for exportation, or broken up for scrap. In the great John Cockrell plant, after nine months since the armistice, only two out of seven blast furnaces were running and the manager said that it would be three years before the plant could be wholly restored. One 900 h.p. gas engine had been broken up for scrap and an 8,000 h.p. gas engine had been taken away. Four thousand out of 10,000 workingmen only could as yet be employed, and they were being held together by working alternate weeks.

I visited three such plants and could see others from the trains, and it was the same story—the same, I was informed, all over Belgium. At Vervier, beyond Liége, the center of the wool industry, and at Charleroi, a steel center, the factories were only slowly getting into partial operation. I met the same conditions later at Lille, the great steel center of northern France. Meanwhile, Belgium needs these mills for rebuilding her ruined railroads, industries and buildings, to say nothing of her former export trade, but they are not available, and thousands of her workingmen are idle or on partial work time. It was deliberate German policy to ruin or hopelessly cripple the industry of two rival nations. Mr. Adolphe Renwart, who took me over the John Cockrell plant, said that if Germany had won, Belgium would have been ruined. He personally listed every machine taken away, and they were then being returned by the German Government. They were being inspected, put in order and set up, and the costs sent to Berlin via Brussels for payment.

Living in Belgium and France, considering the value of the franc, is surprisingly inexpensive. With a value of 8.12 francs to the dollar, and later

nearly nine, everything was cheap. I had a good room and bath at the Palace Hotel, Brussels, for fifteen francs, ($1.84), and in Paris I secured a room and breakfast, but without bath, at a good hotel for the same amount. In Holland alone, where it was least necessary, living was excessively high, while in England it was nearly on a level with the United States, although cheaper for example in the matter of clothing.

## BELGIAN LABOR

Belgium is a stable country with no likelihood of revolution at any time that can be foreseen. The extremists are a small group led by the eccentric but able syndicalist, Joseph Jacquemotte. Organized labor is solidly moderate socialist, with three members in the cabinet. I had a long interview with M. Watrous, Minister of Labor. He took a half-hour to explain to me why Belgian socialism seems irreligious but is not. It had been forced, he said, into an attitude of seeming antagonism by the efforts of the dominant church to control the schools and the government, and to dominate the life of the people. He took great interest in the exposition of the work and plans of the American church and said they were admirable. He also called attention to the large number of Belgian Protestants who were leaders of the Belgian labor movement.

I spent extended periods at the Maison du Peuple, the Belgian labor headquarters, talking with leaders of the economic, political and cooperative movements and with the syndicalists. The Belgian labor movement is instructive. It consists of the union of three groups: the trade unions or syndicats, which are federated in each town; the cooperatives which are also federated; the political labor leagues in the cities. The Belgian Labor Party—*Parti Ouvrier Belgi*—is composed of representatives from each of these groups. The plan is much like the organization of the British Labor Party. The syndicats or unions have 500,000 members, the Catholic unions 100,000. The typographical syndicats are neutral, after the plan of the Dutch neutrals and American labor organization. The Catholic unions are ineffective as in Paris. Fortunately, the Protestants have no labor organizations as in Holland, nor have they in France. They are therefore able to form contacts with the whole movement without prejudice.

The Belgian type of labor organization seemed to me singularly effective. It dissociates political from economic organization and enables labor to throw its full strength in each direction without compromising either. I found later that in France, where originally the trade union movement had been at the same time political, experience had taught them to make the trade union movement exclusively economic, and that the forced retreat from the

earlier position had tended to weaken confidence in political action. As a matter of fact, the fruits of economic organization are immediate and continuous; those of political socialism, whatever they may come to be, are yet in the future.

## BELGIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES

In Brussels I was rendered great assistance by Dr. Henry Anet, formerly missionary secretary of the *Eglise Chrétienne Missionaire Belge,* and by his successor, Rev. Aloys Gautier. They gave me an insight into Belgian life, especially into the religious organization and condition during the war, and on Sunday, they, with Mrs. Gautier, took me out to Mons and Quaregnon.

Mons is in the heart of the mining regions of western Belgium. Great cone-shaped dumps rise like small mountains outside each mine on an otherwise flat country, and one gets the impression of an immense industry of long standing. Quaregnon is a mining town just south of the canal where the British held up the German forces for a day in August, 1914. At that time the British, followed shortly by the Germans, nervous and anxious, came along the main street, where we stopped for a cup of coffee before the service in the Protestant church. Pastor Gautier is a singularly attractive and forceful speaker, and the congregation of three or four hundred were alert and responsive. They sang as I have not heard people sing since I left America.

The coal-mining region of Belgium extends from Liége to Mons and Ypres. A new area had also been discovered in a poor agricultural country east of Antwerp which is soon to be opened. The miners, I was told, have broken more completely from the Catholic church than in any other section of the Belgian population. They are attracted to Protestantism and it is not only an opportunity but a duty to provide for them. To call such work proselyting seems to me to be either definite anti-Protestant propaganda or a misinformed sentimentalism. The new territory east of Antwerp should be occupied as it develops, and many new centers should be opened as fast as they can be properly equipped and provided with pastors. M. Gautier at Quaregnon and M. Pidoux at Charleroi have organized institutional churches, the type which is needed, but they have lacked resources to take advantage of their opportunities in the large way which is needed.

At Quaregnon I was taken by M. Anet into a typical miner's cottage. I found two rooms on the first floor, two above, a garden in the rear and spotless tiled floors in the kitchen and living room.

Belgian Catholicism is very strong, and outwardly one gets an impression of dourness. The churches of Brussels are massive and lacking in color. At Ostend the great church has a chapel back of it, in the façade of which is a

kind of inset stage, with life-size figures cut in stone. Below is a cave representing purgatory with suffering mortals and a figure tending the fires. A motto begs for help to save them. Above on the roof of the cave is the Saviour on the cross, with imploring figures looking up to him. That conception of Christianity, coupled with a resolute effort to control the political, social and economic life of the nation and public education, is responsible for the revolt from the church in Belgium. In a final conference with M. Gautier I said to him that the future of Protestantism in that country seemed to me to be to align itself openly on the side of intellectual freedom, to develop an undogmatic Christian teaching and brotherhood, and to identify itself with the people, who are more and more coming into power.

## BRUSSELS TO PARIS—PASSING THROUGH THE BATTLE ZONE

From Belgium I went directly to Paris, traveling with Rev. and Mrs. Charles A. Wood of Washington, whom I met unexpectedly in the dining car as the train left the Midi station on the early morning of Friday, August 28. The train followed the line of the British retreat from Mons through le Cateau, crossing the Hindenburg line at St. Quentin. All stations were ruined, bridges and viaducts blown up, and for hours we rode through an area which reminded one of burned-over frontier tracts in the far west which are growing up to bushes. Not a town was standing, no trees except blasted stubs, villages all but obliterated, skeletons of great factories in which the machinery lay twisted and rusted; a picture of utter ruin and desolation. Passing through the opposing lines where they come together north of St. Quentin, one wondered how men ever got through the barbed wire entanglements, which extended in front of line after line of trenches. The whole surface of the country was cut by trenches and torn by shell explosions. The barbed wire looked like the low grape vines one sees in Italy before the leaves have come out.

We passed thousands of German prisoners and later about Soissons, Chemin des Dames, Rheims, Verdun, Chateau Thierry, Arras and Ypres I saw tens of thousands more filling up trenches and shell holes, digging up unexploded shells, pulling up the barbed wire, salvaging the shells and debris of battle-fields, clearing ruins of villages, towns and cities, and building or rebuilding houses for the people. They were fittingly employed. I understood then what it meant when the German delegates to the Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam in July reported that 800,000 German prisoners were still unpatriated after eight months since the armistice. They were being sent home in September, but their eights months of labor had made only a beginning of the reconstruction that must be done.

An upper limit of three weeks was at my disposal in France, from Friday, August 28, to Sunday, September 14, with two additional days later in September—time only for the most limited studies. Many of the Protestant leaders, some of whom I most wanted to see, were in Switzerland or in Brittany and it did not seem advisable to take the time for the long journeys to meet them. Fortunately, through the kindness of Rev. Andre Monod, Rev. Victor Monod, Rev. Ernest Bysshe and the Y. M. C. A., the extreme kindness of Dr. Paul Doumergue, editor of *Foi et Vie* and director of the *École de Service Social,* and of Captain Georges Barbey of the French Army and Secretary of the *Comité des Régiones Dévastes,* with whom I traveled for several days in the devastated country, I was able to learn a great deal and to get a certain limited insight into French life. Nothing more than that was possible in so short a time, for France is a great country, and one more difficult for an American to understand than England.

French Protestantism is numerically weak—approximately a population of one million out of forty million; the rest is solidly Roman Catholic or free thinking. The Protestants, however, constitute, as was said by Sabatier, an intellectual aristocracy. Their churches are as yet comparatively little socialized and have few important contacts with labor or with other social and community movements. The new congregations have limited parish organization and church work is done mainly by the pastors. Except for the work of such pastors as Paul Monod, Nikke and Bosc at Lille, Elie Gounelle at Paris, the extensive and inspiring social work and school directed by Dr. Doumerge in Paris, and the writings of Dr. Wilfred Monod and Dr. Doumergue, the churches would be almost exclusively centers for worship and teaching. Those who have social vision are handicapped for lack of funds. It is apparent that the hope of French Protestantism is in a broadening of its horizon, a coupling of its scholarly pre-eminence with the struggle for the new intellectual life of France, and a courageous and generous return of its ministry to the plain people. This is thoroughly understood by the social leaders of the churches.

## WORK OF AMERICAN CHURCHES IN FRANCE

The influence of the highly socialized work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, administered as it is in close sympathy with the existing historical churches in France, must have a profound influence. American churches should put a great deal of money into France and Belgium at this time and it should be used not only to restore ruined buildings but also to strengthen Protestant organization in the ways mentioned. The *École de Service Social* justifies adequate financing, and pastors like Paul Monod, Nikke and Bosc at Lille, and Gounelle at Paris should be given facilities for greatly enlarged

work. I think it is not worth while doing anything unless the people are reached. A predominantly middle and upper class religion has no future.

France is a very sound and strong country. Those who think otherwise do not get below the surface, and are misled by gay and frivolous aspects of Parisian life, which are like the foam along the shore of the sea. French industry and agriculture are on a scale of small units, which taken as a whole are large and stable. The people are energetic and thrifty, their home life very substantial in spite of surface indications, their love of children unsurpassed. They are sometimes shockingly unconventional in their habits and frank in thought and expression, but essentially a people who have set themselves free. The legend *"Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité,"* which one sees carved on the porticos of churches and public buildings, and which dates from the period of the Revolution, are not empty words, but passionate ideals quick to become human crusades. The culture of France is the rich fruitage of centuries of civilization, and one was conscious that it looks askance at western frankness and roughness.

## WINE DRINKING

In spite of what people say about the harmlessness of the French habit of wine drinking I came away from France with the conviction that the opinion is erroneous, and that wine drinking is a national evil. One observed that those who drink a bottle of wine at lunch are drowsy in the afternoon. Those who think that wine is harmless should read Vicente Ibanez' "La Bodega." Captain Barbey (of the *Comité des Régiones Dévastes*) is so strongly of this opinion that he proposes a national movement against the evil. I also came away troubled about the extent of venereal infections, the semi-gilded slavery of thousands of women who supplement their incomes by becoming mistresses, and the essential callousness of the indulgence of so many Frenchmen. Protestantism should strike hard at these evils, for the national church is not likely to do so.

## FRENCH LABOR UNIONS

The French labor movement has a way of its own. The various craft *syndicats* or unions are organized nationally, and the unions of a French department or state are federated into a *Bourse du Travail,* which corresponds to an American state federation of labor. These departmental bourses met in Montpetier in 1902, and formed the *Confederation Generale du Travail,* which corresponds to the American Federation of Labor. Each local is therefore affiliated with the departmental and national federations. The Confederation meets every two years. In small towns where there are not enough workers to form craft unions, they are organized into a general union. Each

craft union, in addition to affiliations with departmental and national federations, is affiliated also with its national craft organizations.

Ten years ago there was a movement towards the one big union idea which is so attractive to the radical elements in American labor, but it proved ineffective in practice and was abandoned. It is probable that the one big union will have the same experience in the United States. The syndicats political socialism, and cooperatives are kept absolutely distinct. The syndicats, or unions, were formed several years ago as a break away from the political socialist movement, because political socialism proved ineffective for immediate ends.

The political socialist movement in France is led by Jean Longuet, editor of *Le Populaire,* and a member of the Chamber of Deputies. He is a grandson of Karl Marx but is interested in religion and is affiliated with the conference on Labor and Religion of the Browning Settlement, London. The trade unionists, led by L. Jouhaux, whom we met in Amsterdam, are socialists, but few of them political socialists. Political socialism in France is left wing, but its strength is limited.

The moderate socialists incline to guild socialism, that is to the ownership of an industry like the railroads by the state, but its operation by the total personnel of the industry. It is apparent, however, that they hold this position loosely and not aggressively as do the miners in England, and that their ideas are not sharply defined. I was informed most earnestly at the national headquarters of the French trade unions, that French syndicats are trade unions and not syndicalistic bodies, and that they have little in common with our American I. W. W.

On the whole, French trade unionism impressed me as thrifty, solid, unsentimental and highly individualistic, if one can say that of a people having marked capacity for solidarity. The syndicats have grown rapidly during the war, and have attained a membership of 1,600,000. A remarkable fact is that there are no scab unions in France—an indication of the strength and integrity of French character. Another is that the Catholic Church has never been able to create effective unions of its own workingmen. Those who do join the Christian unions do so formally, and hold their effective membership in the regular unions.

## MINISTERE DU TRAVAIL

On Friday, September 12, I was given extended conferences in the offices of the Ministère du Travail in Paris. Here I was informed again that French labor is solidly moderate socialist, which means that they are not out for a

revolution of violence, but for an orderly socialization of society. The new eight-hour law of April 22, 1919, applies to all trades, except a few such as agriculture, where longer hours are allowed. The law was drastic and disturbing because of its suddenness. Children work after thirteen, and may after twelve if they have passed the grammar grades and have a doctor's certificate. Women are not allowed to work at night, or underground in mines. M. Charles Pranard thinks there is little need of women selling themselves because of low wages. The forty-eight-hour week prevails without Saturday half-holidays. Women are members of regular unions, and there is a movement towards equality of wages. Wages in France are on a high level, comparable to England, but below American standards.

Participation of labor in control, beyond the participation involved in collective bargaining, has not gone far in France, and has been confined mostly as in England to profit sharing. Collective bargaining is not enforced by statute, but an employer is not allowed to discharge men because they belong to unions. An important new law has recently been passed which permits corporations to create non-dividend paying shares allotted to the workers of a plant as a whole. These shares provide for membership on the board of directors, and a place in shop control, also profit sharing, and assure participation in accumulated profits in the event of liquidation. We may look for valuable experimentation under this law.

## TRIP TO THE DEVASTATED AREAS

Before leaving the discussion of France I desire to say a few words more about the devastated areas. I went out to Rheims on a Y. M. C. A. excursion the day after my arrival in Paris. Later Mr. E. W. Lawshé, of the Lafayette Memorial Heroes' Fund, Dr. Paul Doumerge and I were taken for five days in a Renault limousine into the battle zones by Captain Georges Barbey, representing M. Tardieu, and in behalf of the *Comité des Régiones Dévastes*. The route lay along the western sector of the first battle of the Marne, Chateau Thierry, the second Big Bertha, Soissons, Chemin des Dames, the Aisne, Barry au Bac, Rheims, Chalons, St. Minnehould, Verdun, returning via Rheims, Fismes, the grave of Quentin Roosevelt, Chateau Thierry, Maux and Paris. Later I had a day at Amiens and Arras, and two memorable days with the delegation from the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Menin, Messines Ridge, Kemmel Hill, and the country about Ypres. At Ypres I walked seventeen miles out past St. Julian to Passchendale, Passchendale Ridge and Zonnebeke, and wandered about the deserted plain examining trenches, villages, concrete pillboxes, wrecked guns, tanks, airplanes, cemeteries and the first efforts of refugees to reestablish themselves on the site of their former homes. I also saw quite a little of Ostend, the defences along the sea to the east toward

Zeebrugge, Louvain, Mons, Liége, Namur, and the villages along the Meuse from Liége to Namur.

The devastation is indescribable; much of it, as at Rheims, unnecessary and therefore the more distressing. We passed through the orchards north of St. Quentin which had been cut down from the same motives which broke up or destroyed key parts of machinery in factories in France and Belgium. The cruelties of the German troops have not been overstated, except in instances, and are horrible beyond expression. Much was due to their theory of war and the spirit with which the nation went into the war. Many of the worst instances can be accredited to drunken soldiers. They were such deeds as would be impossible, except in isolated cases, to American, English or French troops. I have talked with many officers, civilians, officials of hospitals, deported workingmen and leaders of the churches. People who know what was done and who have seen Belgium and northern France understand the distrust and bitterness of these peoples.

I mention these things not to perpetuate hatred. The problem of the world is to create a new international cooperation, with stronger ties than the world has ever known before, and my whole desire is to work to this end. But one is grieved to say that Germany seems not to have learned her lesson and there are too many at home who pass lightly over these matters, whose sympathies are still with Germany, and who are quite willing that French and Belgian labor should repair the ruin which is chargeable to German cruelty and selfishness during the war.

The problem of rebuilding this area is one that will require several years. It is so related to the freedom of the world, that all nations have a clear duty to take part in the reconstruction. France and Belgium were the vicarious battle-grounds of the allied powers. In fact, it seemed to me as to those with whom I associated, that the devastated areas constitute a first charge upon civilization, and that until it is accomplished and until the famished peoples of the Continent, especially the children, are nourished, we might well adjourn our academic discussions, our profiteering and our class struggles.

The refugees are slowly coming back, making shelters out of the ruins of houses, building temporary houses out of brick walls and semi-cylindrical corrugated iron roofs. In the battle zones every yard of earth is cut up by trenches or blown up by shells, which must be filled in before plowing can commence. The farmers have as hard a task as the settlers in a new country who face the forests. In the villages within the area of intense fighting as a rule nothing remains to mark where they stood except the big mounds of their mammoth churches. I have frequently mistaken these mounds for little hills when searching for the sites of villages.

At Ypres I got closest to the returning exiles. They were cheerful and hard at work. The mother, the grandmother, the children, the little sister-mother with baby in her arms, came to watch me at the door. They accepted chocolates and admitted me smilingly to their temporary homes. I wandered around the half-deserted villages, finding the queerest reconstruction of broken houses and rooms. These people will feel the pinch of cold this winter, and it will be a long while before their lives are back to normal again.

## THE DEAD IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

Most tragic are the cemeteries—everywhere, with long rows of crosses —and thousands of bodies still lying where they fell, and marked by weather-beaten crosses. Hundreds of thousands are unknown—blown to pieces by shells, or their graves torn up by high explosives. One of the saddest pictures of my trip in Flanders was that of Professor George Adam Smith wandering over the Ypres salient looking for his two boys and not able to find them. For that reason, if for no other, we should never attempt to recover our American dead from the soil of France. Let them rest where they lie, a sacred charge to France, a permanent tie to bind the two nations in perpetual friendship in the struggles for democracy.

## A CRUSADE AGAINST WAR

I came away from the trenches with a deepened hatred of war, and with the conviction that the church must not be outdone by our socialist friends in efforts for its destruction. If a situation came again like that of March, 1917, I would have America do again what she then did, only earlier in the struggle; but from now on our utmost endeavors should be exerted in practical ways to bring an end to such waste and horrors. It may seem a contradiction to hold these two points of view, but it is not a contradiction. Those will do most to end wars who are willing to fight, but who because they are willing to fight, and know what it means, are determined to find another way of settling international troubles.

## RETURN TO ENGLAND—THE BROTHERHOOD CONVENTION

Leaving Amiens on the 15th of September I came back to England in time for the sessions of the Brotherhood Congress, to which the members of the commission had been accredited as delegates. The congress was attended also by Drs. Batten and Harland as the social service representatives of the Northern Baptists. This congress was devoted more to social problems than to the technical affairs of the Brotherhood. Addresses were delivered by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Dr. John Clifford and other distinguished Englishmen, and the delegates were received by the Lord Mayor of London and the Lady Mayoress at the Mansion House. Drs. Batten, Harlan and I of the social service group were appointed to the Executive Committee and the newly formed American Committee. We accepted because the Brotherhood is likely to have important developments and requires adjustment to American church conditions.

The Brotherhood, until now, has been mainly an organization of men of the churches of Great Britain and the British Colonies. It has conducted men's meetings, social center activities for men in churches and sometimes in community houses, and has followed its members who have gone to the colonies. Of late it has broken through the boundaries of the churches and made its way into Belgium, and into Mohammedan and Indian non-Christian circles in India and Egypt, still on a Christian but a non-dogmatic basis. In America our own representatives felt that it should not become a separate movement, but rather a coordinating organization for men's Bible classes, men's clubs, the Baracca movement, and other adult brotherhoods of the American churches; and that this coordination, and any advanced program which is formulated should be worked out in conference with church officials.

## THE BRITISH RAILWAY STRIKE

The remainder of the time from September 15 to October 11, with the exception of ten days in Belgium and Holland devoted mainly to the World Alliance Conference at The Hague, was spent in conference with officials of the churches, employers, representatives of labor and officials of the British government. I was in London a day or two before the railroad strike and returned to that city by boat from Holland on the Sunday on which it closed. I clipped extensively from the press of London and provincial cities, including the labor press, and in the course of conferences learned something about the inside of the strike. I saw the congestion of traffic, due to the closing of the tubes and transport service, and the efficient motor transport of the government, which in London centered in Hyde Park and Regent Park.

Ever since observing the general strike at Seattle in February, 1919, I have realized the gravity of such a strike on a nation-wide scale. If carried to its conclusion it is a terrible weapon, which is almost certain to lead either to a surrender of one or the other party, or to civil strife.

This point of view was expressed by Mr. Thomas when he announced the settlement to a vast crowd at Albert Hall, Sunday night, October 5. Mr. Thomas said that there could be nothing more dangerous or more calculated to imperil the life of the state, than for one section of the community

to be at war with the community as a whole. He recognized that in a challenge to the state, if the men won there would be an end of constitutional government in England. If, on the other hand, the state won, then there must follow bitterness and ill-feeling which would be a danger to the community. He recognized, he said, that citizenship was greater than any sectional interest.

It was evident that the men soon found themselves looking into an abyss from which they recoiled. They were clearly not ready for the strike, and they had counted too easily on victory and the intimidation of the public. As a matter of fact, the public was enormously aroused and ready to fight it through, but there was surprising patience and good humor. The railway men had precipitated a strike without it having been considered by the other members of the Triple Alliance, and the committee of fifteen appointed by the alliance after the strike began, became at once a conciliation committee, acting with great wisdom and public spirit. It is likely to become a permanent strike committee.

On the whole, the strike seems to me to have been a blessing to England. On the one side it lifted up the power of the people and their right to be considered in such conflicts. I am quite sure that a new ethical ideal of the supremacy of the general welfare was established, a new realization of public solidarity. On the other hand, it was equally apparent that the right of the workers to fair dealing and to higher standards of living was pressed upon the public conscience, for the strikers had serious grievances and had been greatly irritated by the dilatory methods of the Government, and since the strike ended without deep bitterness, and with both sides gaining and losing, the good accomplished will be permanent.

My belief in the unlimited right to strike was shaken at Seattle, when I saw what the general strike meant, but my ideas had not crystallized. At the end of the railway strike in England I had made up my mind that a general strike, or a national strike in a key industry, is not an unlimited right. It is unethical, unless in extreme necessity, for one social group to inflict such hardships upon the whole population to gain its ends. The inevitable outcome must be the solid opposition of the rest of the community in self-defense. Some other ways must be found to secure the rights of the workers, such as in England—parliamentary action, collective bargaining, Whitley councils, etc.

While the statements of this report indicate that the labor movements of Europe in the nations studied, with the exception of Russia, are moderate socialist, and against revolution, it should be understood that they are determined and powerful. A Labor Government in England is a near likelihood, although it will be a parliamentary government, and therefore, from the

point of view of extremists, conservative. But those who wish no fundamental social changes, who constitute exclusive social castes, who profit by special privileges either of birth or inheritance or acquired advantages, have almost as much to fear in the long run as if labor were revolutionary. The advantage of the present temper of labor is that the social reorganization of Europe will proceed by social experimentation and democratic methods, unless obstructed by the privileged classes, so that the wisest solutions are likely to obtain. The danger of revolution lies in unemployment, famine, oppression of labor, violent revolutionary agitation or precipitation of action in connection with a general strike.

## WHITLEY COUNCILS

Through the courtesy of Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, I was enabled to sit in at the organization of a National Industrial Council, one of the so-called Whitley Councils, for the quarrying industry of Great Britain. I saw twenty-two men, representing equally organizations of capital and labor, sitting together under the chairmanship of a member of Parliament, with government experts sitting in a voluntary capacity on either side. There was a fine exhibition of courtesy and cooperation. The representatives of the workers were as keen and confident as those of the employers. They set a basic wage for the industry and also disposed of two difficult trade disputes. It was easy to see that if thoroughly carried out the Whitley Councils hold a real solution of the industrial conflict. Fifty-three national industries had been thus organized up to that time, representing a total of two and one-half million employed persons.

It should be said, however, that the development of the councils is at present just reaching the stage of the organization of the Works Committees. Dr. Harlan, Mr. Berry of Syracuse and I visited the Bryant & May Match Company, where such a council has been organized. We were not impressed with the thoroughness of the organization of the Works Council of that plant, and we realized that only a determination on the part of employers and workers to act together will insure a whole-hearted carrying out of the scheme. The union is still the big thing.

On Thursday, October 9, I had a conference with Mr. A. H. Paterson of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, 64 Victoria Street. This is a society which is definitely working to build up cooperation in control and harmonious relations between employers and workers. The Alliance has the support of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and has been related to the creation of the Whitley Councils. I found the point of view of the organization much like that of similar experimenta-

tion in the United States, as for example that of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Company in Chicago.

## THE TWENTY BRITISH QUAKER EMPLOYERS

On the same day I had a conference at the Royal Society Club with Mr. Edward Hodgkin, of the Friends' Committee on War and the Social Order. Mr. Hodgkin was mainly responsible for the draft of the statement by Twenty British Quaker employers. I learned from him, and also at the Friends' headquarters, 143 Bishopsgate Street, that the point of view of the Quakers is to witness to the application of the principles of Christianity to industrial management, but not to take part in concrete efforts. I learned also from other sources that the Friends' employers, such as the Rowndtrees and the Cadburys, are considered benevolent employers, but that they have not seriously divided control with their employees. Mr. Hodgkin was personally favorable to an effort by the church to bring employers and workers together, and was quite willing to come to the United States to assist in the undertaking. He also gave personal information about various leaders of the social movement in England.

## A STRIKE OF COOPERATIVES

During the period of our stay in Europe a serious strike took place among the cooperative factories and stores, involving some thirty-two thousand employees. The strike was for better conditions of wages and hours, and revealed the fact that in their capacity as business men and employers in the cooperatives, the workers manifest the same weaknesses as private industry. I was also informed by the editor of an influential London religious weekly, that on account of the low salaries paid to managers and buyers by the cooperatives, the practice of accepting commissions had come to prevail to an unfortunate extent, and that the societies were endeavoring to correct the evil. He also said that the rank and file of the members of the cooperatives are interested mainly as shareholders and receivers of dividends, that is as interest-takers. This led me to think that in the cooperative movement of the United States there should be greater effort to interest the rank and file of cooperators in the spirit of cooperation.

The commissioners were greatly impressed with the strength of the cooperative movement in France, Belgium and Holland; with its great wholesale and retail stores, bakeries, creameries, manufacturies and social centers. The *Maison du Peuple,* Brussels, is a cooperative enterprise. In that city the cooperative society is setting up a coffee house in every suburb. At Ayr the Miners' Conference was entertained in the halls of the cooperatives' social

center in the eastern section of the city across the river. They are cheapening the cost of living and teaching the people to work toegther.

## THE WORLD ALLIANCE AT THE HAGUE

The commission had purchased return passage on the *Noordam,* due to sail from Plymouth October 6. Mr. McGill, being out of touch with the rest of the commission, made the ship. On receipt of a cable from Dr. Atkinson and Dr. MacFarland requesting us to remain as American delegates to the International Committee of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches at The Hague, October 1-4, I surrendered my ticket and secured passage on the *Scandinavian,* sailing from Liverpool October 10. Mr. Gold also was able to secure passage on a later boat, and the two of us attended the conference in the Hotel Chateau Oud-Wassenaer, a few miles north of The Hague. The Chateau lies in a wonderful forest park back of the sand dunes of the Dutch Coast.

This proved to be one of the most valuable periods of our trip. We met the delegates from most of the continental countries as well as from England, as we had previously met the labor delegates at Amsterdam, and from them we were able to get additional inside information from these countries, and to check up previous information.

The conference was marked by manifestations of the greatest consideration by the delegates of the allied powers to those of Germany, Austria and Hungary, but there was a suppressed embarrassment, until in response to a letter from Dr. Wilfred Monod on behalf of the French Alliance, saying that it would be impossible for them to meet the German delegates until they had expressed regrets for what had been done in Belgium, the matter came to a issue. In a dramatic moment after the morning devotions of the last day, Dr. Spiecher, Chairman of the German commission, said frankly that the Germans had committed a wrong in the violation of Belgium, and that the German, Belgian and French delegates, under deep emotion, had united in an agreement to stand together against war and against revenge.

Arrangements were made for a congress of church representatives from these countries to be held in the summer of 1920, and a strong sentiment was manifested for national federations of churches in the different nations and for a general federation for Europe.

Acting as Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, since the movement for international relations between the churches of America and Europe has been promoted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, I held conferences with representatives of the churches

from various nations looking towards a conference in 1920 of social service representatives of the churches of these nations. Thinking that it might be possible to organize a section of the World Alliance on the Church and Social Service, and that if this were possible it would be an economy in time and money, I prepared a series of resolutions, embodying a tentative objective.

These resolutions were presented to the conference, but it was considered advisable, after an animated discussion, not to depart from the primary function of the Alliance—that of international friendship; a special committee was appointed on cooperation with other internationals interested in the same problem.

I then proposed to delegates whom I had found to be interested that a conference be called in the summer of 1920, either just before or just following the World Alliance Congress, to consider the relation of the churches to social reconstruction. Cooperation was assured and I was requested to submit definite proposals.

The return voyage from Liverpool was uneventful, except for the presence of the representatives of the British government to the Labor Conference in Washington and a part of the staff of the French commission to the League of Nations. We became acquainted and had many interesting conversations. The passenger list also included several hundred Canadian troops, among them a large number of English brides, coming to Canada with their soldier husbands and their babes in arms.

I was glad to get back home, back again to a land undevastated by war, a land of freedom and opportunity, largely untramelled as yet by social castes and age-long institutions. Europe is burdened with debt, rent asunder by conflicting interests and antagonisms, irritable from five years of sorrow and the struggle for the larger life of humanity.

# CONCLUSIONS

## I. American and European Churches

The American churches have comparatively little to learn concerning the social interpretations of religion or neighborhood and community work, from the churches of Scotland, Holland, Belgium and France. They have much to learn from the Scottish churches in pulpit preeminence, and from the French in traditions of scholarship. But the churches of England, especially of London, abound in most valuable social experimentation. In fact they were doing social work of a thorough-going character long before the American churches were awakened. The Protestant Episcopal parish house was at first an importation and American Methodists will always gladly acknowledge their obligations to the Forward Movement of the British Wesleyans. The Methodist Federation for Social Service was directly inspired by the Methodist Union for Social Service. Those who were present at the Brotherhood Congress were impressed by its social vision, and by the remarkable point of view of the venerable Dr. Clifford. The religious press of London is saturated with the social spirit, and the statements of the great church conferences and assemblies reveal a strong grasp upon the relation of Christianity to public questions.

One realizes, however, the comparative lack of contact between the churches of the United States and Europe in these matters. Except for occasional visits of distinguished preachers, devoted primarily to Anglo-Saxon rapprochement and a limited international circulation of important books, periodicals and documents, the churches of the various countries work pretty much by themselves, and have widely divergent points of view and methods.

It is therefore important that a more systematic interchange of speakers, literature and methods shall be arranged. The proposed international conferences of church social workers outlined in the report should be carried out, and in connection with the conferences, the delegates should be routed to the great centers of population and brought before assemblages of the people and conferences of church officials. Professors Pont and Slotemaker de Bruine of Holland felt that an exposition of American parish house and community methods, illustrated by lantern pictures, would greatly help in broadening the work of the Methodist churches.

## II. Extreme Economic and Political Movements

American churches are too much unsettled by radical agitation. Many have got the impression that a violent overturning of society is imminent. If one has in mind the movement popularly known as bolshevism, the conten-

tion is largely misinformation and exaggeration. The extremists are a small group in any country. The bolshevists were able to do what they did in Russia because of conditions which existed there at the time of the revolution and previously. If the people of a country work together with a general desire for justice, fair dealing and a courageous effort to correct the defects of the present organization of society, there will be no tearing up of the social fabric. The statements which are made in the body of the report with reference to the situation in Europe, have been confirmed by the recent elections, in which the left wing socialists were badly defeated in Belgium, Switzerland and France. The church must always work with all its power because the effect of social wrongs is disastrous to individuals; but there is time to work with confidence, thoroughness and patience, and that would be the best way in which to work if a wave of revolution were to sweep over America tomorrow. Hurried, anxious work is largely valueless. The people are sound at heart, and the need of religion is so fundamental that the church will emerge out of any cataclysm, as it has done in Germany and is doing in Russia.

The mission of the church is broader than any one point of view, political or economic. It has a great function of its own in the world. To use the metaphor of a line of battle, it has its place in the line, in liaison to left and right with other social institutions of various degrees of radicalism and conservatism. That battle line is the array of all individuals and agencies which are fighting for the progress and happiness of humanity. The church, if it is not shortsighted or cowardly, takes its stand on the spirit and teachings of Christ. It fights for the spiritual and moral awakening and training of the race, and unites all classes in the struggles for the freedom and economic welfare of the masses. It contends in its social program for living wages, the right of collective action by the workers, freedom of speech and honest publicity, a reasonable work day, Sunday rest, Saturday half-holiday, equality of women, equal opportunity for foreign-born workers and for Negro workers, abolition of child labor, abundant opportunities for education, public health, wholesome recreation, social insurance, and other like provisions designed to secure the abundant life of the people. It is opposed to hatred and class struggle, and stands for the cooperation of groups and classes for the advancement of each and all, and the final elimination of classes in the Christian brotherhood, and not their subjugation or destruction in blood and terror.

These efforts in behalf of the people will bring the churches now into cooperation with this agency or movement and now with that, and sometimes into opposition. They will find themselves at one time fighting side by side with a radical movement, at another time with a moderate or conservative movement. But all the while they will have their own set of principles and their own functional work to do.

## III. The Church and Working People

The conviction to which I had come in America, before going to Europe, that the first duty of the church towards labor is to provide a sufficient number of the right kind of churches for industrial neighborhoods and to properly care for the spiritual welfare of the workers and their families, has been intensified by observation in Europe. It is nothing less than a neglect of public duty and a fundamental contradiction of the Christian spirit, that large areas of the population in America and Europe should be so poorly provided with proper centers for Christian work and teaching. I cannot better express tersely what needs to be done, than by extracting from the resolutions which I presented to the Hague Conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches in October, 1919:

"1. That this Conference recognize that there should be an effective understanding between the leaders of labor and the clergy, by which these leaders shall be assured, as they devote themselves mainly to the economic and political welfare of the workers, that the clergy, in addition to whatever part they may take in the general labor movement, will devote themselves earnestly to the spiritual and cultural welfare of the workers and their families, in full sympathy with the deeper motives of the labor movement.

"2. That a great effort should be inaugurated in all lands by the churches to provide adequate religious care for the families of working people; that this should include commanding buildings in non-competitive parishes, designed for highly socialized neighborhood and community work; and the creation of a body of clergy and assistants who understand labor and who desire to devote themselves to the welfare of the masses of the people.

"3. That the Church, without taking partizan positions upon economic and political questions, and acting as an independent social organism based upon the teaching and spirit of Christ, should exert its utmost influence on behalf of the people, and especially for such objects as their economic freedom, short hours of labor, abundant and democratic opportunity for education, social insurance, participation in community affairs, and a just share in the control of industries."

The spiritual care of the families of the workers, especially their children, is the highest kind of social service, and will be so recognized by the workers themselves, if their economic welfare and other social aspirations are also included in the effort of the churches. The struggle of loving hearts for these every-day interests is an end in itself, as worthy and necessary as any other, but social service also accredits the spiritual mission of religion. Churches in industrial neighborhoods, if sufficiently numerous and powerful, would also offer a strategic base from which the church might move outwardly to exert its influence in behalf of the economic welfare of the workers and their families.

But if we are to have in America a sufficient number of such churches in industrial neighborhoods, we shall have to do two things. We shall have first to train thousands of pastors who desire to devote their lives to the workers and their families, who will forsake middle and upper class ambitions to become their shepherds and who will go all the way with them in their struggles. We shall have in the second place to re-survey the industrial neighborhoods of our centers of population, to break through denominational competition, and to allocate exclusive parishes to denominations on condition that they build and maintain the right kind of churches.

## IV. The Importance of Religious Case Work

Case work in modern charity is the study of the needs of the individual, and the patient nursing and stimulation of that individual to independence, with a maximum of his own effort and a minimum of relief. Something like that has to be done in the moral and spiritual development of every child, and it remains a permanent problem in the evolution of human society. People who are caught up in the swirl of mass psychology are usually blinded to the importance of such work. They are inclined to think that it is merely palliative, that nothing is worth while except the political and economic changes which they are seeking, and although the leaders know better when they think coolly, a general delusion comes to prevail that the reform itself will solve the problems of human need.

The doctrine of socialism that human nature is all right, and that all that is needed is to change the present social system, is a case in point. International socialism failed as utterly in stemming the tide of war as did the church, and the war itself revealed a depth of cruelty and animalism which nobody thought lay beneath the surface of human life. The Russian Revolution, in addition to revealing the idealism of a great people, has uncovered a chamber of horrors which humiliates the entire human race. We have all realized anew the significance of the doctrine of depravity which dominated the thinking of the churches a few generations back. That teaching grew out of first-hand contacts with men, but was carried to logical extremes.

I was struck by a statement from Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., one of the wisest and ablest of labor leaders of Great Britain, in an article on "Direct Action" in the October number of *Overseas,* in which, while thinking primarily of parliamentary action, he yet saw the deeper problems which lie back of the machinery of society.

"The older I get," he said, "the more I have seen the futility of methods of violence. It is easier to get men out than to get them back. . . . Strikes would not wipe out the slums or improve the lot of the poorest in the land. The grievances due to inadequate pensions, pay allowances, conditions of demobilization, unemployment and other causes for discontent, are just the things which a policy of direct action would not touch. A remedy for these things would have to be found by coming back to State Departments and the House of Commons."

I cannot better express the convictions which were forced upon me in Europe than in the words of the Statement on Social Reconstruction issued by the Federal Council of Churches on the subject of Moral Reconstruction:

"The experiences of the war, revealing as they do reversion to barbarous practices by highly civilized peoples, the nearness to the surface of savage instincts and deep selfishness in vast numbers of men, the willingness to profiteer on the part of workers as well as employers, the intensity of racial, national and religious antagonisms—these experiences have demonstrated anew that the progress of humanity is dependent not alone upon social organization, but upon the strength of the moral emotions and the discipline of character. Whether the work that is to be done in reconstruction, beginning with the peace treaty itself, shall yield satisfaction or disappointment, will depend mainly upon the working capital of moral character among the peoples who undertake the tasks.

"Now that the war is over the church should return to its historic functions, of Christian nurture, evangelism and religious education, with new sanctions, and a sure knowledge that its ministry to the inner life and to the building of character are after all its greatest contribution to social welfare. If the governments of the world have learned the lesson of the war, they will encourage the church in these vital undertakings, and they will themselves turn with renewed energy to the work of education. They will drive hard at that moral discipline which alone can fortify our democratic ideals. Every movement of social reform will be partial and disappointing until a powerful work of education, both general and religious, has been accomplished."